

Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 OMB-01 IO-13 PC-05 CU-04 AID-05

EUR-12 DHA-02 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 ACDA-10 SIL-01

LAB-04 SCA-01 /115 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5199

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 3616

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SF, US, RH, PFOR, XJ

SUBJ: FOREIGN MINISTER MULLER GIVES SAG SUPPORT FOR
RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT

REF: BOWDLER/WISNER TELCON OF AUGUST 12,1976

1. THERE FOLLOWS TEXT OF THE ENGLISH PORTION OF SPEECH
DELIVERED BY FOREIGN MINISTER MULLER AT NATAL NATIONALIST
PARTY CONGRESS IN DURBAN ON AUGUST 13. REST OF SPEECH
WAS DELIVERED IN AFRIKAANS. EMBASSY IS MAKING TRANSLATION
AND WILL TRANSMIT AS SOON AS COMPLETED.

2. "WHILE TESTIFYING BEFORE A..SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES
SENATE, AFTER HIS RECENT VISIT TO A NUMBER OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES,
DR KISSINGER OPENLY ADMITTED THAT PRACTICALLY ALL THE AFRICAN
LEADERS HE HAD MET, HAD EXPRESSED THEIR APPRECIATION OF THE
EFFORTS BY OUR PRIME MINISTER TO FIND PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS FOR
POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

BOTH DR. KISSINGER AND SENATOR PERCY, WHO ALSO RECENTLY VISITED
AFRICA, ADMITTED THAT THEY HAD GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT IT IS
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BELIEVED IN AFRICA THAT "S.A. HOLDS THE KEY TO THE FUTURE OF

RHODESIA."

SPEAKING IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN SENATE IN MAY OF THIS YEAR, I SAID THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WOULD CONTINUE TO DO WHATEVER IT COULD TO MAKE A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN RHODESIA POSSIBLE.

I APPEALED TO THE WEST TO BE MORE ENTERPRISING AND TO MAKE IT EASIER AND MORE ATTRACTIVE FOR THE RHODESIANS, WHITE AND BLACK, AND TO GO OUT OF THEIR WAY TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO WORK FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION FOR THEIR PROBLEMS. I ADDRESSED A STRONG APPEAL TO THE FREE WORLD TO COME FORWARD WITH A NEW APPROACH BEFORE IT WAS TOO LATE, AND ASSURED THEM OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FULL SUPPORT AND CO-OPERATION.

THIS APPEAL DID NOT PASS UNHEEDED. THERE WAS ENCOURAGING REACTION ON THE PART OF THE U.S.A. DISCUSSIONS TOOK PLACE BETWEEN DR KISSINGER AND OUR AMBASSADOR, AND THIS LED TO FRUITFUL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN DR KISSINGER AND MR VORSTER IN WESTERN GERMANY ON THE 21ST AND 22ND OF JUNE, IN WHICH I HAD THE PRIVILEGE TO PARTICIPATE

THIS NEW INTEREST IN AFRICA BY THE UNITED STATES AND THEIR DETERMINATION TO DO WHATEVER POSSIBLE TO ENSURE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT FOR THE RHODESIAN ISSUE, IS MOST ENCOURAGING AND I AM SURE THAT IT WILL BE GENERALLY WELCOMED, ALSO IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE ACTIVITIES BY THE UNITED STATES WERE NOT CONFINED TO DR KISSINGER'S VISIT TO AFRICA AND HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH MR VORSTER. LAST WEEK THE SECRETARY OF STATE DISCLOSED THAT THE UNITED STATES WERE ALSO ENGAGED IN FREQUENT CONSULTATIONS WITH THE AFRICAN STATES MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED, AS WELL AS WITH THE BRITISH AND WESTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS.

IN AN IMPORTANT POLICY STATEMENT MADE IN BOSTON ON THE 2ND AUGUST, DR KISSINGER DEALT AT GREAT LENGTH WITH WHAT MIGHT BE DESCRIBED AS THE NEW AMERICAN APPROACH TO AFRICA, INCLUDING THE IMPLICATIONS OF GREAT POWER MILITARY INTERVENTION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

2WITH REGARD TO RHODESIA THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT HE COULD
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OBVIOUSLY NOT GO INTO DETAILS ABOUT DELICATE AND COMPLICATED NEGOTIATIONS WHICH ARE STILL IN A FORMATIVE STAGE. HE ADMITTED THAT THE TASK WAS FORMIDABLE BUT BY NO MEANS IMPOSSIBLE.

WHILE IT IS THEREFORE STILL UNCERTAIN WHAT THE OUTCOME OF DR KISSINGER'S DELIBERATIONS WITH OTHER INTERESTED GOVERNMENTS WILL BE, AND ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO DETERMINE HOW THE PROBLEM SHOULD BE TACKLED AND SOLVED, I

WANT TO DECLARE ONCE AGAIN THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WELCOMES THIS INITIATIVE AND THAT WE ARE PROPARED TO COMPLY WITH THE REQUEST TO DEMONSTRATE OUR COMMITMENT TO AFRICA BY GIVING OUR FULL SUPPORT FOR A PEACEFUL OUTCOME.

IN HIS SPEECH LAST WEEK THE SECRETARY OF STATE REPEATED THAT THE U.S.A.. PSUPPORTED THE BRITISH PROPOSAL FOR MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA WITHIN TWO YEARS. ACCORDING TO HIM" THE ISSUE IS NOT WHETHER CHANGE (TO MAJORITY RULE) WILL TAKE PLACE- BUT HOW:

WHETHER BY VIOLENCE OR BY PEACEFUL MEANS... WHETHER BY GUNS OR THROUGH ACCOMMODATION."

IN ADDITION TO THIS CONFIRMATION OF AMERICA'S WELL-KNOWN APPROACH, A NEW ELEMENT WAS INTRODUCED IN DR. KISSINGER'S SPEECH, WHICH IS BOTH INTERESTING AND ENCOURAGING. HE WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO STRESS THE NECESSITY NOT TO IGNORE THE RIGHTS OF THE MONORITY ON RHODESIA. IN THE COURSE OF HIS STATEMENT HE DEALT WITH IT, IN SOME FORM OR OTHER, NO LESS THAN SEVEN TIMES AND IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS. WHICH IS INDEED SIGNIFICANT.

THUS HE EXPLAINED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD "STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF RACIAL PEACH AND EQUALITY, INCLUDING MINORITY RIGHTS."

HE SAID THEY WERE DOING THEIR BEST TO ENCOURAGE A SETTLEMENT "IN WHICH BLACK AND WHITE CAN CO-EXIST AND CO-OPERATE FOR AFRICA'S FUTURE ON A BASIS OF EQUALITY, DIGNITY AND PEACE."

TO THIS HE ADDED THAT THEY WERE SEEKING " A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT THAT ASSURES THE RIGHTS OF ALL RHODESIANS, BLACK AND WHITE, PRESERVES THE ECONOMIC STRENGTH OF THE COUNTRY, AND REMOVES THE OPPORTUNITY FOR FOREIGN INTERVENTION".

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HE APPEALED TO THE LEADERS OF BLACK AFRICAN STATES "TO HELP EASE THE TRANSITION TO A GOVERNMENT BASED ON MAJORITY RULE AND MONORITY RIGHTS."

AND BY THE WAY, HE REPEATED, ALMOST IN THE SAME BREATH, THAT WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS"ARE NOT COLONIALISTS" AND THAT "NO ONE- INCLUDING THE RESPONSIBLE LEADERS OF BLACK AFRICA- CHALLENGE THEIR RIGHT TO LIVE IN THEIR COUNTRY."

BUT TO COME BACK TO RHODESIA:

DR KISSINGER APPEALED TO THE RHODESIAN AUTHORITIES TO BEGIN URGENT TALKS," WHILE THE FUTURE OF THE WHILE POPULATION CAN STILL BE NEGOTIATED PEACEFULLY AND GUARANTEES ARE YET ATTAINABLE".

FURTHER ON HE CONTINUED " THAT PEACH AND STABILITY CAN ONLY BE
BUILT UPON A SETTLEMENT THAT TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE
INTERESTS OF ALL THE GROUPS AND RACES INVOLVED", TO WHICH HE
ADDED: "AS WE DEFEND MAJORITY RULE WE MUST NOT NEGLECT
MINORITY RIGHTS",

HE CONCLUDED HIS SPEECH WITH A GENERAL APPEAL" TO HELP THE
VOICE OF REASON TO PREVAIL IN AFRICA".

THESE QUOTATIONS LEAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE UNITED STATES IS
NOT ADVOCATING THE COMPLETE AND UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER OF THE
WHITE MINORITY IN RHODESIA, TO THE BLACK MAJORITY.

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TAGS: SF, US, RH, PFOR, XJ

SUBJ: FOREIGN MINISTER MULLER GIVES SAG SUPPORT FOR
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RHODESIA

WHAT SHOULD BE OUR REACTION TO THE DIRECTION IN WHICH
DR. KISSINGER AND THE USA ARE APPARENTLY GOING?

I THINK WE MUST HEARTILY WELCOME IT, AND MUST HOPE THAT
IT WILL MEET WITH SUCCESS.

AS CONCERNS THE CONJECTURE THAT A MAJORITY GOVERNMENT IS
INEVITABLE-- IT IS NOT FOR US TO FORMULATE A HYPOTHESIS ON THAT.
YOU ALL KNOW WHAT OUR OWN POLICY FOR SOUTH AFRICA IS IN THIS
CONNECTION. BUT RHODESIA HAS OVER THE YEARS HAD A DIFFERENT
POLICY THAT DIFFERS FUNDAMENTALLY FROM OUR POLICY OF SEPARATE
DEVELOPMENT AND SEPARATE FREEDOMS.

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MR. SMITH, FOR EXAMPLE, DECLARED OPENLY LAST YEAR THAT
"EVERY CONSTITUTION WE HAVE HAD IN RHODESIA HAS BEEN BASED ON
THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE"- WITH CERTAIN QUALIFICATIONS.

IN REPLY TO A QUESTION BY RECHARD KERSHAW OF THE BBC
WHETHER EVENTUAL MAJORITY RULE IS PRECLUDED, HE REPLIED;" NO,
CERTAINLY WE HAVE NEVER EVER SAID THAT MAJORITY RULE ISN'T
SOMETHING WHICH IS INHERENT IN THE RHODESIAN CONSTITUTION".

IN THE LIGHT OF ALL THIS NOBODY CAN EXPECT SOUTH AFRICA TO
WITHHOLD ITS SUPPORT FROM THE EFFORTS BY DR KISSINGER AND OTHERS
SIMPLY BECAUSE MAJORITY RULE IS THE POINT FROM WHICH THEY
PROCEED.

AS I HAVE INDICATED, THIS PRINCIPLE HAS AFTER ALL BEEN INHERENT
IN THODESIAN CONSTITUTIONAL PHILOSOPHY. ALL INDICATIONS ARE THAT
DR KISSINGER IS AIMING TO REACH A SITUATION WHERE THE RIGHTS
AND INTERESTS OF THE WHILE MONORITY WOULD BE PROTECTED.
MR SMITH HIMSELF IS OF COURSE ALSO ON RECORD AS HAVING SAID
THAT ANY CONSTITUTIONAL AGREEMENT SHOULD HAVE BUILT-IN
GUARANTEES. BUT ONE GETS THE IMPRESSION THAT DR KISSINGER HAS IN
MIND NOT ONLY CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES. HOWEVER, TIME
WILL CLARIFY PRECISELY WHAT IS INVOLVED.

AT THIS STATE WE WOULD HOPE THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO
GUARANTEE THE SAFETY AND ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTERESTS AND
RIGHTS OF THE WHITE MINORITY, CONSTITUTIONALLY AND OTHERWISE,
IN SUCH A WAY THAT THEY THEMSELVES WOULD FEEL CONVINCED THAT
A SAFE AND GOOD FUTURE EXISTS FOR THEM IN THEIR COUNTRY.

IF SUCH A SOLUTION IS SOUGHT, THERE IS MERIT IN IT AND IT SHOULD
BE GENERALLY WELCOMED, ALTHOUGH WE ARE REALISTICALLY ALIVE TO THE
PRACTICAL PROBLEMS WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE SOLVED.

IF IT SUCCEEDS, IT WILL BE A POWERFUL CONTRIBUTION TO

STABILITY IN GENERAL IN THE WHOLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.
IT WILL ALSO HELP INTERNAL STABILITY IN THE VARIOUS
COUNTRIES IN THEIR TURN.

S.W.A.

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THIS HOLDS ALSO FOR S.W.A. AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION THERE
WILL NECESSARILY PROMOTE STABILITY NOT ONLY IN THE AREA
ITSELF, BUT WITHIN A WIDER CIRCLE.

WHAT IS THE CHANCE FOR SUCCESS?

I PERSONALLY THINK THE CHANCE IS GOOD. THERE HAS ALREADY
BEEN GOOD PROGRESS MADE. THE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COUNCIL IS NOW SITTING, AND I AM HOPEFUL THAT FURTHER PROGRESS
WILL BE ANNOUNCED BEFORE THE END OF THE MONTH.
IN LIGHT OF THIS, IT LOOKS TO ME INADVISABLE TO ELABORATE
ON SOUTH WEST, BUT RATHER TO WAIT FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS."

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